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EXTRACTS

FROM

Sir RICHARD STEELE'S

CRISIS,

Adapted to the present more dangerous
and more important CRISIS.

Recommended to the Perusal of all true Lovers
of their COUNTRY.



L O N D O N:

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EXTRACTS

FROM

Sir RICHARD STEELE's *Crisis*.



IT is every Man's Duty to correct the Extravagancies of his Will, in order to enjoy Life as becomes a Rational Being ; but we cannot possess our Souls with Pleasure and Satisfaction, except we preserve to ourselves that inestimable Blessing which we call *Liberty*. By Liberty I desire to be understood to mean, the Happiness of Men's living under Laws of their own making by their personal Consent, or that of their Representatives.

Without this the Distinctions of Mankind are but gentler Degrees of Misery ; for as the true Life of Man consists in conducting it according to his own Sentiments and innocent Inclinations, his Being is degraded below that of a free Agent, which Heaven has made him, when his Affections and Passions are no longer govern'd by the Dictates of his own Mind, and the Interest of human Society, but by the arbitrary Will of another.

Without Liberty, even Health, and Strength, and all the Advantages bestowed on us by Nature and Providence, may at the Will of a Tyrant be

employed to our Ruin, and that of our Fellow-Creatures.

Liberty is essential to our Happiness, and they who resign Life itself rather than part with it, do only a prudent Action ; but those who lay it down, and voluntarily expose themselves to Death in Behalf of their Friends and Country, do an heroick one. The more exalted Part of our Species are moved by such generous Impulses as these ; but even the Community, the Mass of Mankind, when convinced of the Danger of their Civil Rights, are anxious of preserving to themselves that dearest of all Possessions, *Liberty*.

The late Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* have contended for it from Age to Age, with too great a Price of Blood and Treasure to be given for the Purchase of any other Blessing ; but laid out parsimoniously, when we consider they have transmitted this to their Posterity.

But since, by I know not what Fatality, we are of late grown supine, and our Anxiety for it is abated, in Proportion to the Danger to which it is every Day more exposed by the artful and open Attacks of the Enemies of our Constitution, it is a seasonable and honest Office to look into our Circumstances, and let the Enemies of our present Establishment behold the Securities which the Laws of our Country have given those who dare assert their Liberties, and the Terrors which they have pronounced against those who dare undermine them. For, whatever is the Prospect before our Eyes, it is the Business of every honest Man to look up with a Spirit that becomes Honesty, and to do what in him lies for the Improvement of our present Condition, which nothing but our own Pusillanimity can make desperate.

The most destructive Circumstance in our Affairs seems to be, that by the long and repeated Insinuations of our Enemies, many are worn into a kind of
Doubt

Doubt of their own Cause, and think with Patience of what is suggested in Favour of the contrary Pretensions: The most obvious Method of reviving the proper Sentiments in the Minds of Men for what they ought to esteem most dear, is, to shew that our Cause has in it all the Sanctions of Honour, Truth, and Justice, and that we are by all the Laws of God and Man, enstated in a Condition of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty and Property, rescued from the most imminent Danger of having them all for ever depend upon the arbitrary Power of a Popish Prince.

We should have been chain'd down in this abject Condition, in the Reign of the late King *James*, had not God Almighty in Mercy given us the late happy Revolution, by that glorious Instrument of his Providence, the great and memorable King *William*. But tho' this great and wonderful Deliverance happened as it were but Yesterday, yet such is the Inadvertency or Ingratitude of some amongst us, that they seem not only to have forgotten the Deliverer, but even the Deliverance itself.

I flatter myself, that if the Passages which happened in those Days, the Resolutions of the Nation thereupon, and the just Provision made from Time to Time against our falling into the same Disasters, were fairly stated and laid in one View, all indirect Arts and mean Subtleties practised to weaken our Securities would be frustrated, and vanish before the glaring Light of Law and Reason.

I shall not govern myself on this Occasion by the partial Relation of particular Persons or Parties, but by the Sense of the whole People, by the Sense of the House of Lords and Commons, the Representative Body of the whole Nation; in whose Resolutions, according to the different State of Things, the Condition of the Kingdom, by those who had the greatest Stakes in it, has been from Time to Time plainly, impartially, and pathetically expressed.

I shall

I shall begin with the Act of Parliament made in England in the second Sessions of the first Year of the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, intituled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and settling the Succession of the Crown.*

It carries in it the noble Resentment of a People that had been just rescued from Tyranny ; and yet, that they might justify their Actions to Posterity, it recites all the particular Instances of the tyrannical Reign in a plain and dispassionate Simplicity. The Act runs as follows :

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, assembled at *Westminster*, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the Estates of the People of this Realm, did upon the 13th Day of *February*, in the Year of our Lord 1688, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the Names and Stile of *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, being present in their proper Persons, a certain Declaration in Writing, made by the said Lords and Commons in Words following, viz.

WHereas the late King *James* the Second, by the Assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Law and Liberties of this Kingdom ;

By assuming and exercising a Power of dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws without Consent of Parliament ;

By committing and prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed Power ;

By issuing, and causing to be executed, a Commission under the Great-Seal for erecting a Court called *The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes* ;

By

By levying Money for, and to the Use of the Crown by Pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the same was granted by Parliament;

By raising and keeping a standing Army within this Kingdom in Time of Peace without Consent of Parliament, and quartering Soldiers contrary to Law;

By causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same Time when Papists were both armed and imployed, contrary to Law;

By violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament;

By Prosecutions in the Court of *King's-Bench* for Matters and Causes only cognizable in Parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal Courses:

And whereas of late Years partial, corrupt, and unqualified Persons have been return'd, and serv'd on Juries in Tryals, and particularly divers Jurors in Tryals for High-Treason, which were not Freeholders:

And excessive Bail has been requir'd of Persons committed in criminal Cases, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subjects:

And excessive Fines have been imposed,

And illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted,

And several Promises and Grants made of Fines and Forfeitures before any Conviction or Judgment against the Persons against whom the same was to be levied:

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the said late King *James* the Second having abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant,

His Highness the Prince of *Orange* (whom it has pleased Almighty God to make the glorious Instrument

ment of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal Persons of the Commons) cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs, and Cinque-Ports, for the chusing such Persons to represent them as were of Right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster* upon the Two and Twentieth Day of *January*, in this Year 1688, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, might not again be in Danger of being subverted, upon which Letters Elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective Letters and Elections, being now assembled in a full and free Representative of this Nation, taking into their most serious Consideration the best Means for attaining the Ends aforesaid in the first place, as their Ancestors in like Case have usually done, for vindicating and asserting their ancient Rights and Liberties, declare,

That the pretended Power of suspending of Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is illegal.

That the pretended Power of dispensing with Laws, or the Execution of the Laws by Regal Authority, as it has been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

That the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

That levying Money for, or to the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer Time, or in other Manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.

That

That it is the Right of the Subjects to petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecution for such Petitioning, is illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.

That the Subjects which are Protestants may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their Conditions, and as allow'd by Law.

That Election of Members ought to be free.

That the Freedom of Speech, and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeach'd or question'd in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

That excessive Bail ought not to be requir'd, nor excessive Fines impos'd, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

That Jurors ought to be duly impannell'd and return'd; and Jurors which pass upon Men in Tryals for High-Treason, ought to be Freeholders.

That all Grants and Promises of Fines, and Forfeitures of particular Persons before Conviction, are illegal and void.

And that for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into Consequence or Example.

To which Demand of their Rights, they are particularly encourag'd by the Declaration of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire Confidence, that his said Highness the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the

Deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the Violation of their Rights which they have here asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties:

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at *Westminster* do Resolve,

That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, be, and be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the said Prince and Princess during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; and that the sole and full Exercise of the Regal Power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the said Prince and Princess during their joint Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess; and for Default of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of *Orange*.

And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly.

And that the Oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all Persons, of whom the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy might be required by Law, instead of them; and that the said Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be abrogated.

I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*.
So help me God.

I *A. B.* do swear, that I do from my Heart abhor, detest and abjure, as Impious and Heretical,

cal, this damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be Deposed or Murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.

And I do declare, That no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm. So help me God.

Upon which their said Majesties did accept the Crown and Royal Dignity of the Kingdoms of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the Resolution and Desire of the said Lords and Commons, contain'd in the said Declaration.

And thereupon their Majesties were pleased, that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, shall continue to sit, and with their Majesties Royal Concurrence make effectual Provision for the Settlement of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in Danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons did agree, and proceed to act accordingly.

Now in pursuance of the Premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming and establishing the said Declaration, and the Articles, Clauses, Matters, and Things therein contained, by the Force of a Law made in due Form by Authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, That all and singular the Rights and Liberties asserted and claimed in the said Declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable Rights and Liberties of the People of this Kingdom, and so shall be esteem-

ed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be; and that all and every the Particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said Declaration; and all the Officers and Ministers whatsoever, shall serve their Majesties and their Successors according to the same in all Times to come.

And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it has pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous Providence and merciful Goodness to this Nation, to provide and preserve their said Majesties Royal Persons most happily to reign over us upon the Throne of their Ancestors, for which they render to him, from the Bottom of their Hearts, their humblest Thanks and Praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the Sincerity of their Hearts think, and do here *recognize, acknowledge, and declare*, that King *James II.* having abdicated the Government, and their Majesties having accepted the Crown and Royal Dignity as aforesaid, their said Majesties did become, were, are, and of Right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of *England, France and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; in, and to whose Princely Persons, the Royal State, Crown and Dignity of the said Realms, with all Honours, Stiles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, Powers, Jurisdictions, and Authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed.

And for the preventing all Questions and Divisions in this Realm by reason of any pretended Titles to the Crown, and for preserving a Certainty in the Succession thereof, in and upon which the Unity, Peace, Tranquillity and Safety of this Nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend:

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons,

mons, do beseech their Majesties, That it may be enacted, established and declared, that the Crown and Regal Government of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, with all and singular the Premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said Majesties, and the Survivor of them, during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them ; and that the entire, perfect, and full Exercise of the Regal Power and Government be only in and executed by his Majesty, in the Names of both their Majesties, during their joint Lives, and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Premises shall be and remain to the Heirs of the Body of her Majesty ; and for Default of such Issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess *Ann of Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body ; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of his said Majesty. And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the Name of all the People aforesaid, *most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their Heirs and Posterity for ever.* And do faithfully promise, that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also the Limitation and Succession of the Crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any thing to the contrary.

And whereas it has been found by Experience, that it is inconsistent with the Safety and Welfare of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist ;

The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons do farther pray, that it may be enacted, that all and every Person and Persons that is, are, or shall be *reconciled to*, or shall hold Communion with the *See or Church of Rome*, or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy

joy the Crown and Government of this Realm and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any Part of the same; or to have, use, or exercise any Regal Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction within the same; and in all, and every such Case, or Cases, the People of these Realms shall be, and are hereby absolved from their Allegiance; and the said Crown and Government shall from Time to Time descend to, and be enjoyed by such Person or Persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in Case the said Person or Persons so reconcil'd, or holding Communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

And that every King and Queen of this Realm, who any Time hereafter shall come to, and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this Kingdom, shall, on the first Day of the meeting of the first Parliament next after his or her coming to the Crown, sitting in his or her Throne in the House of Peers, in the Presence of the Lords and Comons therein assembled, or at his or her Coronation, before such Person or Persons who shall administer the Coronation-Oath to him or her, at the Time of his or her taking the said Oath, (which shall first happen) make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the Declaration mentioned in the Statute made in the thirtieth Year of the Reign of King Charles II. intituled, *An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's Person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.* But if it shall happen that such King or Queen, upon his or her Succession to the Crown of this Realm, shall be under the Age of twelve Years, then every such King or Queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said Declaration at his or her Coronation, or the first Day of the meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen, after such King or Queen shall have attained the said Age of 12 Years.

All which their Majesties are contented, and pleased,

fed, shall be declared, enacted, and established, by the Authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be *the Laws of this Realm for ever*; and the same are by their said Majesties, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, declared, enacted, and established accordingly.

And be it further declared and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that from and after this present Sessions of Parliament, no Dispensations by *non obstante*, of or to any Statute, or Part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no Effect, except a Dispensation be allowed of in such Statute, and except in such Cases as shall be especially provided for by one or more Bill or Bills, to be passed during the present Sessions of Parliament.

Provided, that no Charter, or Grant, or Pardon, granted before the three and twentieth Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1689, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same Force and Effect in Law, and no other, than as if this Act had never been made.

I have recited the Act at large, that I might on the one Hand shew the just Sense the *English* Nation then had of their Deliverance, and their Gratitude to their Deliverer, the glorious King *William*; and, on the other Hand, avoid being censured for heaping more Miscarriages upon that unhappy Prince, King *James*, than a Nation, whose Religion, Liberties, Fortunes, and Lives were just snatched from the Brink of Ruin, thought fit to charge him with. And here, that I may do Justice to the *Scotch* Nation as well as to the *English*, I shall also set down, as succinctly as I can, what that brave People did in this important Juncture.

The

The Convention of the Lords and Commons, in the Beginning of the Year 1689, came to the Resolutions in Substance, as follows: *Viz.*

That whereas King *James VII.* being a professed Papist, did assume the Royal Power, and act as King, without ever taking the Oaths required by Law, whereby every King at his Accession to the Government was obliged to swear to maintain the *Protestant Religion*, and to rule the People according to the laudable Laws; and by the Advice of wicked Counsellors, did invade the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and altered it from a legal, limited Monarchy, to an arbitrary and despotick Power; and in a publick Proclamation asserted an absolute Power to annul and disable all Laws, particularly by arraigning the Laws establishing the Protestant Religion, and exerted that Power to the Subversion of the Protestant Religion, and to the Violation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom:

By erecting publick Schools and Societies of *Jesuits*, and not only allowing Mass to be publickly said, but also converting Protestant Chappels and Churches to publick Mass-houses, contrary to the expresse Laws of saying and hearing Mass:

By allowing Popish Books to be printed and dispersed, by Patent to a Popish Printer, designing him Printer to his Majesty's Household, College, and Chappel, contrary to Law:

By taking the Children of Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen, sending them abroad to be bred Papists, and bestowing Pensions upon Priests to pervert Protestants from their Religion by Offers of Places and Preferments:

By discharging Protestants, at the same Time he employed Papists in Places of the greatest Trust, both Civil and Military, &c. and intrusted the Forts and Magazines in their Hands:

By

By imposing Oaths contrary to Law :

By exacting Money without Consent of Parliament, or Convention of Estates :

By levying and keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace without Consent of Parliament, and maintaining them upon a free Quarter :

By employing Officers of the Army as Judges throughout the Kingdom, by whom the Subjects were put to Death without legal Trial, Jury, or Record :

By imposing exorbitant Fines to the Value of the Parties Estates, exacting extravagant Bail, and disposing Fines and Forfeitures before any Process or Conviction :

By imprisoning Persons without expressing the Reason, and delaying to bring them to Trial :

By causing several Persons to be prosecuted, and their Estates to be forfeited, upon Stretches of old and obsolete Laws, upon weak and frivolous Pretences, and upon lame and defective Proofs ; as particularly the late Earl of *Argyle*, to the Scandal of the Justice of the Nation :

By subverting the Rights of the *Royal Boroughs*, the third Estate of Parliament, imposing upon them not only Magistrates, but also the whole Town-Council and Clerks, contrary to their Liberties and express Charters, without any Pretence of Sentence, Surrender, or Consent ; so that the Commissioners to Parliament being chosen by the Magistrates and Council, the King might in Effect as well nominate the Estate of Parliament : Besides that many of the Magistrates by him put in were Papists, and the Boroughs were forced to pay Money for the Letters imposing those illegal Magistrates upon them :

By sending Letters to the chief Courts of Justice, not only ordering the Judges to stop *sine Die*, but also commanding how to proceed in Cases depending before them, contrary to the express Laws ; and by

changing the Nature of the Judges Patents *ad Vitam* or *Culpam*, into a Commission *de bene placito*, to dispose them to Compliance with arbitrary Courses, and turning them out of their Offices if they refused to comply :

By granting personal Protections for Civil Debts, contrary to Law :

All which Miscarriages of King *James*, were utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws, Freedoms, and Statutes of the Realm of *Scotland*. Upon which Grounds and Reasons the Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland* did find and declare, that the said King *James* had forfeited the Crown, and the Throne was become vacant.

Therefore, in regard his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange*, since King of *England*, whom it has pleased God to make the glorious Instrument of delivering these Kingdoms from Popery and arbitrary Power, by Advice of several Lords and Gentlemen of the *Scots* Nation then in *London*, did call the Estates of this Kingdom to meet upon the 14th of *March* last, in order for such an Establishment, as that the Religion, Laws, and Liberties might not again be in Danger of being subverted ; the said Estates being assembled accordingly, in a full and free Representative of the Nation, did, in the first Place, as their *Ancestors in like Cases had usually done*, for vindicating and ascertaining their ancient Rights and Liberties, declare,

That by the Law of *Scotland*, no Papist could be King or Queen of the Realm, nor bear any Office therein ; nor that any Protestant Successor could exercise the Regal Power, till they had sworn the Coronation-Oath :

That all the Proclamations asserting an absolute Power to null and disable Laws, in order for erecting Schools and Colleges for *Jesuits*, converting
Pro-

Protestant Churches and Chappels into Mass-houses, and the allowing Mass to be said, and the allowing Popish Books to be printed and dispersed, was contrary to Law :

That the taking Children of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, and keeping them abroad to be bred Papists :

The making Funds and Donations to Popish Schools and Colleges, the bestowing Pensions on Priests, and the seducing Protestants from their Religion, by Offer of Places and Preferments, was contrary to Law :

That the disarming Protestants, and employing Papists in the greatest Places of Trust, both Civil and Military, was contrary to Law :

That the imposing an Oath without Authority of Parliament, was contrary to Law :

That the raising of Money without Consent of Parliament, or Convention, was contrary to Law :

That the employing the Officers of the Army as Judges, was contrary to Law :

That the imposing of extraordinary Fines, &c. was contrary to Law :

That the imprisoning of Persons without expressing the Reasons, was contrary to Law :

That the prosecuting and seizing Men's Estates, as forfeited, upon Stretches of old and obsolete Laws, &c. was contrary to Law :

That the nominating and imposing Magistrates, &c. upon Boroughs, contrary to their express Charters, was contrary to Law :

That the sending Letters to the Courts of Justice, ordering the Judges to desist from determining of Causes, and ordering them how to proceed in Causes depending before them, &c. was contrary to Law :

That the granting personal Protections, &c. was contrary to Law :

That the forcing the Subjects to depose against themselves in Capital Causes, however the Punishments were restricted, was contrary to Law :

That the using Torture, without Evidence, or in ordinary Crimes, was contrary to Law :

That the sending an Army in a warlike manner into any Part of the Kingdom in time of Peace, and exacting Locality and free Quarter, was contrary to Law :

That the charging the Subjects with Law-Boroughs at the King's Instance, and imposing Bonds without Authority of Parliament, and the suspending Advocates for not appearing when Bonds were offer'd, was contrary to Law :

That the putting Garrisons in private Houses in time of Peace, without Authority of Parliament, was illegal :

That the Opinions of the Lords of the Sessions in the two Cases following, were illegal ; viz. That the concerting the Demand of the Supply of a Fore-faulted Person, although not given, was Treason ; and that the Person refusing to discover their private Thoughts in relation to Points of Treason, or other Men's Actions, are guilty of Treason :

That the fining Husbands for their Wives withdrawing from Church, was illegal :

That the Prelacy and Superiority of an Office in the Church, above Presbyters, is, and has been a great and insupportable Burden to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People ever since the Reformation, they having reform'd Popery by Presbytery, and therefore ought to be abolish'd :

That it is the Right and Privilege of the Subject, to protest for Remedy of Law, to the King and Parliament, against Sentences pronounced by the Lords of the Sessions, provided the same do not stop Executions of the said Sentences :

That

That it is the Right of the Subject to petition the King, and that all Prosecutions and Imprisonments for such Petitioning were contrary to Law.

Therefore, for the Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving the Laws, they claimed that Parliaments ought to be frequently called, and allowed to sit, and Freedom of Speech and Debate allowed the Members ; and farther claimed, and insisted upon all and sundry the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Liberties ; and that no Declaration or Proceeding, to the Prejudice of the People in any the said Premises, ought in any ways to be drawn hereafter into Example ; but that all Fines, Forfeitures, Loss of Offices, Imprisonments, Banishments, Prosecutions, and rigorous Executions be considered, and the Parties redressed.

To which Demand of their Rights, and Redress of their Grievances, they took themselves to be encouraged by the King of *England's* Declaration for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in *October* last, as being the only Means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy therein.

Therefore, soasmuch as they had an entire Confidence, that his Majesty of *England* would perfect the Deliverance so far advanced by him, and would still preserve them from the Violation of the Rights which they had asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Law and Liberties,

The Estates of the Kingdom of *Scotland* had resolved,

That *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, be declared King and Queen of *Scotland*, to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdom to them the said King and Queen during their Lives, and the longer Liver of them ; and that the sole and full Exercise of the Power be only in, and exercised by him the said King, in the Names
of

of the said King and Queen, during their joint Lives; and after their Deceases, that the said Crown and Royal Dignity be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Queen; which failing, to the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; which also failing, to the Heirs of the Body of the said *William* King of *England*.

And then prayed the said King and Queen to accept the same accordingly: Which being accepted by their Majesties, they were proclaimed King and Queen of *Scotland*, the same Day that they were crowned King and Queen of *England*.

The above-mentioned Acts of Settlement of the respective Crowns of *England* and *Scotland* ought to be written in the Hearts of every true *Briton*, and engraven on Columns of Brass, to be erected in all the Cities and Boroughs of this Island, that Posterity may know how much their Ancestors suffered, and how much more they were in Danger of suffering from a Popish Prince; and that they may with Gratitude reverence the Memory of their glorious Deliverer, the immortal King *William*, to whom, under God, are owing whatever Rights, whether Religious or Civil, they or their latest Posterity shall enjoy.

Thus appear the Causes each Nation had for the late Revolution, and the just Reasons for limiting the Entail of their respective Crowns in the Manner above-mentioned.

They at that Time, doubtless, hoped they should for ever be made happy in a Descent of Protestant Princes, either from the late Queen *Mary*, the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, or the late King *William*, and therefore saw no Necessity for extending the Limitation farther; but the Death of that incomparable Princess, the late Queen *Mary*, on the 28th of

of *December* 1694, followed by the Death of that hopeful Royal Infant, the Duke of *Gloucester*, the only surviving Issue of the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, on the 29th of *July* 1700, gave fresh Alarms to the *English* Nation.

They saw the Entail of the Crown reduced to the Lives of the late King *William*, and Queen *Ann*, then Princess of *Denmark*.

They saw the Hopes of a Popish *Jacobite* Party taking new Spirit, and beginning to revive.

They saw a long Train of Popish Princes of the Blood next in Descent after the Demises of the late King *William* and Queen *Ann* without Issue; they remembered the Danger they had so lately been in from one Popish Prince, and therefore thought it high Time to take all necessary Caution to prevent the same for the future from a numerous Train of *Roman Catholick* Princes, all, or most of whom, were very near in Blood to a neighbouring Monarch, the most powerful Prince in *Europe*, whose Interest, as well as Inclination, might engage him to support their Pretensions with his whole Force.

This prudent Foresight gave Birth to another Act of Parliament in *England*, in the twelfth and thirteenth Years of the Reign of the late King *William*, intituled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*. By this Act, the most illustrious Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, is declared the next in Succession in the Protestant Line to the Crown of *England*, after the late King *William* and the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, and their respective Issue; and that from and after the Deceases of his said Majesty and the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of their respective Bodies, the Crown should be, remain, and continue to the said Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants.

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And thereunto the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the Name of all the People of this Realm, did most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities; and did faithfully promise, that after the Deceases of his Majesty, and her Royal Highness, and the Failure of the Heirs of their respective Bodies, to stand by, maintain, and defend the said Princess *Sophia*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants, according to the Limitation and Succession of the Crown in this Act specified and contained, to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against all Persons whatsoever that shall attempt any thing to the contrary.

In the 13th and 14th Years of the said King, two other Acts of Parliament were made; the one entitled, *An Act of Attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales of High Treason*; in which it is likewise adjudged High Treason for any one to correspond with him, or assist him with Money in any shape. The other Act is intitled, *An Act for the further Security of his Majesty's Person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and for extinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors*. Which, among other things, enacts the Oath of Abjuration; the serious Consideration of which Oath I would at this time recommend to those who have taken it, in Case any of them should be weak enough to wish they might violate it, without giving a most deep and premeditated Stab to their Conscience, and the Laws of their Country.

Thus our great Deliverer accomplished his Work. He would have thought it but half done, if he had delivered only one Generation from *Popery* and *Slavery*; and therefore made it his whole Care, and spent the last Remains of his invaluable Life, in
contriving

contriving how the most pure Religion, and the best Laws in the Universe, might be transmitted to late Posterity.

The last mentioned Acts of Parliament, are the Legacy that great Prince left the *English* Nation, infinitely more valuable than if he had, without them, left Palaces and Principalities to each of his Subjects. The Memory of that great Benefactor to Mankind will always be dear to every *Briton*, who loves the Religion and Laws of his Country, and is an Enemy to Popery and arbitrary Power, and to every Man who knows the Happiness of a limited Monarchy circumscribed and fenced about with the Bulwarks of the Laws, which equally guard the Subject from the Invasion of the Prince, and the Prince from the Insults of the Subject.

Several Acts were pass'd in the Beginning of Queen's *Ann's* Reign for the further Security of the Protestant Succession, to which I refer the Reader; but as the Act of Union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* gave the finishing Stroke to that great and salutary Work, I shall here transcribe at large the second Article of that indissoluble Band, that *Magna Charta* of the united Kingdom. Article the second: 'That the Succession to the Monarchy of the united Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and of the Dominions thereto belonging, after her most sacred Majesty, and in Default of Issue of her Majesty, be, remain, and continue to the most excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hanover*, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants, upon whom the Crown of *England* is settled by an Act of Parliament made in *England* in the 12th Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King *William III.* entitled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*; and that all Papists,

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and Persons marrying Papists, shall be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any part thereof; and in every such Case the Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoy'd by such Person, being a Protestant, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case such Papist, or Person marrying a Papist, was naturally dead, according to the Provision for the Descent of the Crown of *England*, made by another Act of Parliament in *England*, in the 1st Year of the Reign of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, entitled, *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown.*

The Powers that made this happy Union, the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, have no longer a Being, and therefore that Union, in the express Terms thereof, must remain inviolable. The Union would be infringed should there be any Deviation from these Articles; and what Consequence that would have, no good Subject can think of without Horror; for, as I humbly presume, there is no Possibility of returning into the same State as we were in before the Union, it is wild and extravagant to suppose it can be peaceably broken. Two warlike Nations that should separate, after being under solemn Engagements of perpetual Union, would, like two private Men of Spirit that had broken Friendship, have ten thousand nameless and inexplicable Causes of Anger boiling in their Bosoms, which would render them incapable of living quiet Neighbours; and one of them must be brought very low, or neither of them could live in Peace or Safety. What I mean is, that common Sense, and the nature of Things would make one expect that nothing

hing less than a War could attend the Dissatisfactions of such a Rupture.

Now let me inform every *Briton* that loves his King, Religion, Law and Liberties, it is his Duty at this Time to appear boldly in their Defence, and detect and seize the crafty and undermining, as well as the open and declared Enemies to his Country wherever he finds them. What should any Man fear in so just a Cause, who acts under the Guard and Protection of the Laws of his Country, whilst his Opponents act with Halts about their Necks?

It is not material to mention the grand Suspensions of the spurious Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*; that it was talked with great Assurance by the Papists, that the late King *James's* Queen was big with a Son, some Months before the pretended Birth, for they well knew a Daughter would not do their Business; that at the Time of the pretended Birth, the Princess *Ann* was at the *Bath*; that the Bishops were clapt up in the Tower; that the Women about the Queen were Papists; that the presumptive Heir was not present; that at the Birth of the late *French* King, the next Heir, tho' a Man, was permitted to see the Queen actually delivered; that in our Case it might have been done with much more Decency, had there been a Birth, since the next Heir was a Woman; that the late King *James* and his Queen owning the Pretender, is no Argument for his not being spurious, considering the Bigotry of that Prince, and the great Influence the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* have over their Laity; that our own History informs us, that the first Queen *Mary* was prevailed on by her *Papish* Priests to feign herself with Child, to exclude her Protestant Sister the Lady *Elizabeth* from the Crown of *England*; that the Imposture had been carried on, and a Birth been imposed upon the Nation, had

not King *Philip* her Husband wisely consider'd, that the Impostor would not only succeed to the Crown of *England*, but also to that of *Spain*, and so prevented it. I say, these Things are altogether insignificant, they are foreign to the Purpose. Be the Pretender who he will, or whoever was his Father or Mother, it concerns not any *Briton*; he is an attainted Person, an Enemy to our King and Country; and all his Aiders and Abettors are guilty of High Treason.

Now I am upon this Subject of this late Settlement of the Crown, I cannot forbear to express my Wonder, that there can be found any *Briton* weak enough to contend against a Power in their own Nation, which is practised to a much greater Degree in other States, and without the least Scruple exercised according to the Emergencies of human Affairs. How hard is it that *Britain* should be debarred the Privilege of establishing its own Security, even by relinquishing only those Branches of the Royal Line which threaten it with Destruction, which other Nations never scruple, upon less Occasions, to go much greater Lengths! There have been, even in *France*, three different Races of their Kings; the First begun with *Pharamond*, the Second with *Charles Martell*, and the Third with *Hugh Capet*; and I doubt whether if the direct Line of the Blood of *France* were to be follow'd, it would make for the Title of his present most Christian Majesty. But to come to fresh Instances, in which *Great Britain* itself has not been unconcern'd. What Right, by the contrary Rule, could the Duke of *Savoy* have to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, or the Elector of *Bavaria* to that of *Sardinia*? Can *Great Britain* help to advance Men to other Thrones, and have no Power in limiting its own? Has not *Lewis* the XIVth given us fresh Instances of such Innovations in his own Family? Or can Men think he was not in Earnest in excluding his Grandson

son the King of *Spain* and his Descendants from the Crown of *France*, and the Dauphin and Duke of *Berry* and their Descendants from the Crown of *Spain*? And if such Sacred Things as Kingdoms themselves may be thus disposed of out of the right Line, not by any Resignation that can in any equitable Sense be call'd Voluntary, but apparently for mere Reasons of State and Ambition; certainly the *English* and *Scotch*, for Preservation of Religion, Liberty and Property, the Essential Benefits of Life, might with more Justice settle their Crown in the Protestant Line in the manner they have done, excluding all nearer Princes of the Blood that are Papists.

When I reflect on these many strong Barriers of Laws and Oaths, of Policy and Religion, of Penalties without, and Conscience within, methinks all Fear vanisheth before them. It seems a Phantom only, that disappears with the Light.

The Conversion of the Pretender's Son to our Religion has been occasionally reported, and contradicted according to the Reception it met with among the soft Fools, who give that gross Story a hearing: The unhappy Prince, whose Son the Pretender calls himself, is a memorable Instance, how much such Conversions are to be depended upon. King *James*, when Duke of *York*, for a long time professed himself a Protestant, and even not long before his Accession to the Crown, several Persons had Actions brought against them for saying he was a Papist, and exorbitant Damages given and recover'd; in a word, from the Practice of all Papists that have come to Protestant Thrones upon Pretence of embracing the Reform'd Religion, we have Reason to believe they have Dispensations from *Rome*, to personate any thing for the Service of that Church. A Popish Prince will never think himself oblig'd by the most solemn, even the Coronation Oath, to his Protestant Subjects.

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All Oaths are as insignificant, and as soon forgotten as the Services done by such Protestant Subjects.

King *James*, when Duke of *York*, was preserved from the Bill of Exclusion by the Church of *England*, and particularly its Bishops; when he came to the Crown, the Church was soon insulted and outraged by him, and her Prelates committed to the Tower.

Has not a neighbouring Prince cruelly treated and banished his Protestant Subjects, who preserved the Crown on his Head?

Did not the Princess *Mary* promise the Men of *Suffolk*, who joined with her against the Lady *Jane Grey*, that she would make no Alteration in the Religion established by her Brother King *Edward* the Sixth? And yet, as soon as she came to the Crown, by the Assistance of the *Suffolk* Men, she fill'd all *England*, and in a particular manner that County, with the Flames of Martyrs. The Cruelties of that Reign were such, that Multitudes of Men, Women, and Children were burnt for being zealous Professors of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus. In short, nothing less than this can ever be expected from a Popish Prince; both Clergy and Laity must share the same Fate; all universally must submit to the fiery Trial, or renounce their Religion. Our Bishops and Clergy must all lose their Spiritual Preferments, or submit to all Antichristian Tyranny; and should they submit to every thing, they must notwithstanding part with their Wives and Children, which, according to the Church of *Rome*, are Harlots and Spurious. The Laity possessed of Lands that formerly belong'd to the Roman Catholick Clergy, must resign their Estates, and perhaps be made accountable for the Profits received.

What can be more moving than the Reflection on the barbarous Cruelty of Papists beyond all Example;

ple; and these not accidental, or the sudden Effects of Passion, or Provocation, but the settled Result of their Religion and their Consciences?

Above One hundred thousand Men, Women and Children were murder'd in the Massacre in *Ireland*. How hot and terrible were the late Persecutions of the Protestants in *France* and *Savoy*? How frequent were the Massacres of Protestants through the whole Kingdom of *France*, when they were under the Protection of the then Laws of that Country? How barbarous, in a particular Manner, was the Massacre at *Paris*, at the Marriage of the King of *Navarre*, the *French* King's Grandfather, a Protestant, with the Sister of *Charles IX.* where the famous Admiral of *France*, the great *Coligny*, the glorious Asserter of the Protestant Interest, was inhumanly murdered, and the Body of that Heroe dragged naked about the Streets, and this by the Direction of the King himself, who had but just before most treacherously given him from his own Mouth Assurances of his Protection *! Ten thousand Protestants, without Distinction of Quality, Age, or Sex, were put to the Sword at the same Time: The King of *Navarre* himself narrowly escaped this Disaster, his Mother, the Queen of *Navarre*, having not long before been poison'd by the same Faction.

These are some Instances of what must ever be expected. No Obligations on our Side, no Humanity or natural Probity on their's, are of any Weight; their very Religion forces them, upon Pain of Damnation, to forget and cancel the former, and to extinguish all Remains of the latter. Good God! to what are they reserved, who have nothing

* This Massacre is painted in the *Vatican*, with the Pope's Approbation under.

to expect but what such a Religion can afford them? It cannot therefore be too often repeated. We should consider over and over again, that should the Chain of the Protestant Succession be once broke in upon, tho' the Pretender should be laid aside, the next of the Blood Royal are the House of *Savoy*, after them the House of *Bourbon*, all Papists, who may be enabled to demand Preference to the House of *Hanover*; so that beside the Probability of this Kingdom being united to, and made a Province of *France*, the Train of Popish Princes is so great, that if one should not compleat the utter Extirpation of our Religion, Laws and Liberties, the rest would certainly do it.

The only Preservation against these Terrors, are the Laws before-mentioned relating to the Settlement of the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*. Thanks be to Heaven for that Settlement.

The Way is plain before our Eyes, guarded on the Right Hand, and on the Left, by all the Sanctions of God and Man, and by all the Ties of *Law* and *Conscience*. Let those who act under the present Settlement, and yet pretend to dispute for an absolute hereditary Right, quiet themselves with the Arguments they have borrowed from Popery, and teach their own Consciences the Art of dispensing with the most solemn Oaths to this Establishment, whilst they think themselves bound only till Opportunity shall serve to introduce another. God be thanked, neither we, nor our Cause, stand in Need of such detestable Prevarication. Our Cause is our Happiness; our Oaths are our Judgment and Inclination: Honour and Affection call us, without the Solemnity of an Oath, to defend such an Establishment; but with it we have every Motive that can influence the Mind of Man. The Terrors of God, added to the Demands of our Country, oblige
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and constrain us to let our Hearts and Hands follow our Wishes and our Consciences; and out of Regard to our King, our Religion, our Country, our Liberty, and our Property, to maintain and assert the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*. It is no Time to talk with Hints and Innuendo's, but openly and honestly to profess our Sentiments, before our Enemies have compleated and put their Designs in Execution against us. As divided a People as we are, those who are for the House of *Hanover*, are infinitely superior in Number, Wealth, Courage, and all the Arts Military and Civil, to those in the contrary Interest; besides which we have the *Laws*, I say the *Laws* on our Side. And those who by their Practices, whatever their Professions are, have discovered themselves Enemies to the Constitution, and Friends to the Pretender, cannot make a Step farther without being guilty of Treason, without standing in broad Daylight confessed Criminals against their injured King and Country.

When the People were in a Ferment, when Faction ran high, with irresistible Prepossessions against every Thing in its former Channel, sanguine Men might conceive Hopes of leading them their own Way. But the Building erected upon that Quicksand, the Favour of the Multitude, will sink, and be swallowed up by that treacherous Ground on which the Foundation was laid.

It is easy to project the Subversion of a People, when Men see them unaccountably turned for their own Destruction; but not so easy to effect that Ruin, when they are come to themselves, and are sensibly and reasonably affected with Thoughts for their Preservation. We cannot help it, if so many thousands of our brave Brethren, who laid down their Lives against the Power of *France*, have died in
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vain ; but we may value our Lives dearly, like honest Men. Whatever may befall the Glory and Wealth of *Great Britain*, let us struggle to the last Drop of our Blood for its *Religion* and *Liberty*. The Banner under which we are to enter this Conflict, whenever we are called to it, are the Laws mentioned in this Discourse ; when we do not keep them in Sight, we have no Colours to fly to, no Discipline to preserve us, but are devoted, and have given ourselves up to Slaughter and Confusion.

F I N I S.

